

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 294525

60

ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 INR-07 IO-13 SS-15 SSO-00 INRE-00 L-03

EB-07 EA-07 /065 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/EE/IMSILINS,,  
APPROVED BY EUR - J.A.ARMITAGE  
EUR/SOV/DHERSPRING  
EUR/WE/BMCKINLEY

----- 101327

O 030236Z DEC 76  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 294525

STADIS////////////////////////////////////

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RO, IT

SUBJECT: CRAXI VISIT TO ROMANIA

REF: ROME 19647

1. WHILE ROMANIAN MOTIVES ARE SELDOM ENTIRELY CLEAR TO OUTSIDERS, WE SUSPECT A PRINCIPAL REASON FOR ROMANIAN INSISTENCE ON CRAXI VISIT IS DESIRE TO SHOW THAT THEIR RECENT CLOSE INVOLVEMENT WITH THE SOVIETS AND OTHER WARSAW PACT ALLIES HAS NOT RPT NOT DIMINISHED ROMANIA'S DESIRE TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH PARTIES AND NATIONS OF ALL POLITICAL HUES. ANOTHER MOTIVE, ASSUMING THE ROMANIANS ARE AWARE OF CRAXI'S PERSONAL ANTI-COMMUNIST FEELINGS, MAY BE TO URGE CRAXI TO ADOPT MORE COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE IN HIS DEALINGS WITH THE PCI. THEY COULD THUS KILL TWO BIRDS WITH ONE STONE, BOTH DEMONSTRATING ROMANIA'S INDEPENDENT POSI-  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 294525

TION WITHIN THE WARSAW PACT AND SIMULTANEOUSLY JUSTIFYING

IT TO THEIR EASTERN EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES BY SHOWING HOW IT CAN BE USED TO SERVE COMMUNIST ENDS.

2. ROMANIA'S EXTERNAL POLICY IN RECENT MONTHS HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY A RELATIVE WARMING OF RELATIONS WITH THE USSR, THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE OF THIS TREND BEING BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO BUCHAREST -- HIS FIRST BILATERAL VISIT TO ROMANIA -- IN LATE NOVEMBER, FOLLOWED BY THE BUCHAREST SESSION OF THE WARSAW PACT POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. OUR

READING OF THIS TREND TO DATE IS THAT IT HAS NOT RESULTED IN ANY SIGNIFICANT CURTAILMENT OF ROMANIA'S MAVERICK POSITION WITHIN THE WARSAW PACT, ALTHOUGH IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE ROMANIANS HAVE MADE AT LEAST SOME CONCESSIONS TO THEIR SOVIET NEIGHBORS. THEY HAVE, FOR EXAMPLE, ACCEPTED THE FORMATION OF A WARSAW PACT FOREIGN MINISTERS COMMITTEE AND JOINT SECRETARIAT, WHICH THE SOVIETS WILL CERTAINLY TRY TO USE TO IMPOSE CLOSER POLITICAL COORDINATION ON THEIR JUNIOR COLLEAGUES IN THE PACT. ROMANIAN ABILITY TO RESIST SUCH EFFORTS, HOWEVER, IS HIGHLY DEVELOPED, AND WE SEE NO INDICATION THE ROMANIANS INTEND TO STOP RESISTING.

3. AT THE SAME TIME, ROMANIA HAS KEPT UP ITS CONTACTS AT A HIGH LEVEL WITH OTHER COUNTRIES THAT SERVE TO BALANCE OFF THE SOVIET CONNECTION. WHILE BREZHNEV WAS IN BUCHAREST, FOR EXAMPLE, CEAUSESCU MET WITH COMMERCE SECRETARY RICHARDSON, AND THE ROMANIANS SIGNED A LONG-TERM ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES ON THE EVE OF BREZHNEV'S ARRIVAL. MOREOVER, A ROMANIAN DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER WAS VISITING CHINA DURING THE SAME PERIOD. THE ROMANIANS HAVE CONTINUED TO VOICE THEIR INTENTION TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH SOCIALIST, SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT AND OTHER PARTIES, AND THE PSI IS OBVIOUSLY HIGH ON THE LIST.

4. AS FOR THE REASON BEHIND THE RELATIVE IMPROVEMENT OF ROMANIAN RELATIONS WITH THE USSR, THEY PROBABLY INCLUDE ECONOMIC FACTORS: A DESIRE FOR CONTINUED AND PERHAPS INCREASED ACCESS TO SOVIET RAW MATERIALS AND A SOVIET MARKET FOR ROMANIAN GOODS. ALSO, AND PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 294525

THE ROMANIANS HAVE PROBABLY DECIDED IT BEST TO MEND FENCES SO AS TO MAINTAIN MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY DURING A PERIOD OF WHAT MUST SEEM TO THEM CONSIDERABLE UNCERTAINTY IN THE INTERNATIONAL REALM: A CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE U.S., A NEW REGIME IN CHINA, AND THE LIKELIHOOD OF CHANGES AT THE TOP IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE IN BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND YUGOSLAVIA.

5. ROMANIAN INTERNAL POLICY SHOWS LITTLE DRAMATIC CHANGE RECENTLY. CEAUSESCU IS STILL FIRMLY IN CHARGE AND RUNS AN EXTRAORDINARILY CENTRALIZED STATE. THE POPULACE IS CLOSELY CONTROLLED BY THE CENTRAL BUREAUCRACY, CONTACTS WITH FOREIGNERS ARE DISCOURAGED, AND TRAVEL TO THE WEST IS ALL BUT IMPOSSIBLE EXCEPT FOR THOSE WITH THE MOST IMPECCABLE CREDENTIALS. THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC GOALS REMAIN VERY HIGH, AND THE POPULATION IS CONTINUALLY BEING ASKED TO SACRIFICE PRESENT COMFORT FOR FUTURE PROSPERITY. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE HAS BEEN SOME IMPROVEMENT IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING, A GREATER VARIETY OF GOODS ARE AVAILABLE FOR PURCHASE, AND SOME WESTERN CULTURE, IN THE FORM

OF FILMS, TV SHOWS, AND A LIMITED SELECTION OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS, IS AVAILABLE. HOWEVER, IT IS OUR PERCEPTION THAT THE RATE OF IMPROVEMENT IN THE QUALITY OF LIFE DOES NOT NEARLY SATISFY WHAT THE POPULATION WOULD DESIRE. THERE IS NOT, HOWEVER, ANY SIGN TO DATE THAT THIS DISSATISFACTION COULD LEAD TO A SIGNIFICANT DEGREE OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY, ALTHOUGH IT DOES MANIFEST ITSELF IN REDUCED ENTHUSIASM FOR WORK, SOME PASSIVE RESISTANCE, AND A GOOD DEAL OF BLACK HUMOR DIRECTED AGAINST THE REGIME AND CEAUSESCU PERSONALLY.

6. IN OTHER WORDS, ROMANIA'S "LIBERAL" APPROACH TO ITS EXTERNAL RELATIONS CONTINUES TO CONTRAST SHARPLY WITH THE COUNTRY'S HIGH DEGREE OF INTERNAL RESTRICTIVENESS. IN THE CSCE CONTEXT, THIS HAS LED TO A RATHER POOR SHOWING BY ROMANIA, WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS, ON BASKET III MATTERS IN PARTICULAR. IF YOU FEEL IT APPROPRIATE TO DO SO, YOU MIGHT WISH TO ENCOURAGE CRAXI TO EXPLORE THIS AREA WITH CEAUSESCU. WE WOULD ALSO BE INTERESTED TO HEAR CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS ON THE OTHER SUBJECTS CRAXI INDICATED HE INTENDS TO RAISE.  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 294525

ROBINSON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, PARTY LEADERS, VISITS, POLITICAL SITUATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 03 DEC 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE294525  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** EE/IMSILINS ,,  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760447-0374  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19761274/aaaacmgh.tel  
**Line Count:** 156  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** STADIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** STADIS  
**Reference:** 76 ROME 19647  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 03 MAY 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <03 MAY 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <04 MAY 2004 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CRAXI VISIT TO ROMANIA  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, IT, RO, UR, PSI, (CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE), (CRAXI, BETTINO)  
**To:** ROME  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006